

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----004392 172023Z /61
P 171830Z MAY 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9752
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 07597

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR WARNKE'S PLENARY STATEMENT
- MAY 17, 1978 (SALT TWO 1750)

BEGIN TEXT.

- STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARNKE
- MAY 17, 1978

MR. MINISTER:

- I

ON MARCH 30, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED INTERRELATED
PROVISIONS WHICH CONSTITUTE A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION TO
THE ISSUES BEFORE THE SIDES IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II.
ON MAY 10, THE SOVIET UNION ALSO PRESENTED A COMPREHENSIVE
PROPOSAL FOR PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II ABOUT WHICH I
WOULD LIKE TO RAISE CERTAIN QUESTIONS.

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- II

A COMPARISON OF THE RESPECTIVE PROPOSALS OF THE
SIDES REVEALS CERTAIN ELEMENTS WHERE THERE IS A COINCI-
DENCE OF VIEWS.

THERE IS AGREEMENT WITH RESPECT TO CURRENT TYPES OF HEAVY BOMBERS, EXCEPT FOR BACKFIRE WITH RESPECT TO WHICH WE ARE NOT IN AGREEMENT.

THERE IS A COMMON APPROACH IN THAT THE SIDES WILL MAKE CASE-BY-CASE DETERMINATIONS OF WHICH FUTURE TYPES OF AIRPLANES CAN CARRY OUT THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER IN A MANNER SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO THAT OF CURRENT HEAVY BOMBERS. IN THIS REGARD, THERE IS AGREEMENT THAT THE CRITERIA TO BE USED TO MAKE SUCH DETERMINATIONS SHALL BE AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

THERE IS A DEGREE OF COMMONALITY WITH REGARD TO A TYPE RULE BASED ON FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES FOR THE INCLUSION IN THE LIMITATIONS OF THE TREATY OF AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS.

LASTLY, BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZE THAT CERTAIN CASES WARRANT SPECIAL CONSIDERATION; THAT IS, B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES AND TUPOLEV (BEAR) AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE.

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THERE ARE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE RESPECTIVE PROPOSALS OF THE SIDES WHERE A COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS IS NOT YET APPARENT OR WHERE QUESTIONS REMAIN.

THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDS THAT THE PREVIOUSLY STATED SOVIET INTENTION TO CONVERT MYASISHCHEV (BISON) HEAVY BOMBERS INTO TANKER AIRPLANES AND TO GIVE THEM FEATURES INDICATING THEY CANNOT BE USED AS HEAVY BOMBERS REMAINS VALID. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO KNOW WHETHER THERE ARE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE PREVIOUS SOVIET PROPOSAL WHICH HAVE ALSO BEEN RETAINED.

FURTHER, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THE BASIS FOR THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN UNCONDITIONAL EXCLUSION FROM THE LIMITATIONS OF THE TREATY OF MYASISHCHEV (BISON) HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED AS TANKER AIRPLANES.

THE SOVIET SIDE HAS PROPOSED THAT THE INCLUSION OF "BOMBERS" EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. AS THE

UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, CONSULTATION IN THE CASE OF THESE AIRPLANES DOES NOT MEAN THAT ONE SIDE COULD, IN EFFECT, VETO THE INTENTION OF THE OTHER SIDE TO EQUIP CERTAIN TYPES OF AIRPLANES WITH LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF THE SOVIET SIDE

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WOULD CONFIRM THIS UNDERSTANDING. FURTHER, THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDS THAT THE CONSULTATIONS ENVISIONED BY THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD INCLUDE SPECIFIC CONSIDERATION OF QUESTIONS WHICH MIGHT ARISE REGARDING THE INCLUSION IN THE 1320 LIMIT OF AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES. AS A RESULT OF SUCH CONSULTATIONS, APPROPRIATE ACTIONS COULD BE TAKEN TO RESOLVE THESE QUESTIONS. YOUR RESPONSE IN THIS REGARD WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL.

THE TERM "SPECIALLY BUILT" IS USED IN DEFINING "BOMBERS" IN THE SOVIET-PROPOSED FIRST AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II. WE UNDERSTAND THAT A NEWLY CONSTRUCTED AIRPLANE EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES WHICH HAS AN AIRFRAME OF THE SAME BASIC TYPE AS A TRANSPORT AIRPLANE WOULD BE PERMITTED UNDER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. WE WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION OF THIS UNDERSTANDING.

IN CONSIDERING THE SPECIAL CASE OF TUPOLEV (BEAR) AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT SUCH AIRPLANES IN THEIR "CURRENT CONFIGURATION" BE CONSIDERED TO BE OF TYPES DIFFERENT FROM TUPOLEV (BEAR) HEAVY BOMBERS. THE PURPOSE OF SPECIFYING "CURRENT CONFIGURATION" IS NOT TO RESTRICT

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THESE AIRPLANES IN THEIR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE MISSION, BUT RATHER TO PREVENT FUTURE CHANGES WHICH MIGHT GIVE TUPOLEV (BEAR) AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AN INCREASED CAPABILITY TO CARRY OUT THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHY THE CONCEPT OF "CURRENT CONFIGURATION" IS NOT CONTAINED IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL.

LASTLY, THE SOVIET PROPOSAL DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR A DEFINITION OF "FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES." THUS, THERE EXISTS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE IS ANY DIFFERENCE IN THE UNDERSTANDING THE SIDES HAVE OF THE MEANING OF THIS TERM.

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THERE ARE THREE ISSUES WHERE THERE APPEARS NOT TO BE A COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS.

UNDER THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES, A SIDE WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO CONVERT AIRPLANES, WHICH ARE OF A TYPE NOT EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES AND NOT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY, INTO AIRPLANES OF A TYPE SO EQUIPPED. THE SIDES ARE APPARENTLY NEAR AGREEMENT ON THE CONCEPT OF A TYPE RULE BASED ON FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES WHICH SHOULD RESOLVE ANY SOVIET CONCERNS IN THIS REGARD. IN LIGHT OF THIS NEAR AGREEMENT, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE SOVIET SIDE STILL MAINTAINS THE POSITION THAT SUCH CONVERSIONS SHOULD BE PROHIBITED.

UNDER THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES, FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES WOULD BE VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS SUPPLEMENTED AS NECESSARY BY SECRET

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COOPERATIVE MEASURES. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS OMITTED ANY REFERENCE TO COOPERATIVE MEASURES. UNDER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, HOW WOULD THE SIDES RESOLVE A SITUATION WHERE INTENDED FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES DO NOT APPEAR TO THE OTHER SIDE TO BE SUFFICIENT?

THERE IS ONE FINAL ISSUE WHERE THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE WELL KNOWN. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS PROPOSED THAT AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES

CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS BE
EQUIPPED FOR ONLY A LIMITED NUMBER OF CRUISE MISSILES.
THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL UNACCEPT-
ABLE AND A STEP BACKWARD IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE
SIDES.

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MR. MINISTER, THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN CAREFUL
CONSIDERATION TO THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET
DELEGATION ON MAY 10. I BELIEVE THAT ANSWERS TO THE
QUESTIONS I HAVE POSED TODAY, WHICH HAVE ADDRESSED SOME
ASPECTS OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, WILL FURTHER THE WORK OF
THE SIDES TOWARD REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF
PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, AMBASSADORS, TEXTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA07597
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780208-0619
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780551/aaaabqoz.tel
Line Count: 240
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e7283e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2669487
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR WARNKE'S PLENARY STATEMENT - MAY 17, 1978 (SALT TWO 1750) BEGIN TEXT.
TAGS: PARM, (WARNKE, PAUL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e7283e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014